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Metaphor in Day-to-Day Arabic Speech: A Conceptual Approach

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□ ABSTRACT □

This paper examines the pervasiveness of metaphorical constructions in day-to-day variety of language. It claims, in accordance with Lakoff and Johnson (1980), that the metaphorical expressions are not mere words, but they are part and parcel of our everyday speech and the way we conceptualize things and that metaphor is not restricted to poetic language or the literary style. The examples we give here are used to show that we use existing physical concepts to conceptualize these abstract concepts.

Key words: Metaphor; Metaphorical conceptual system; conceptualize; cognitive domain.

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الاستعارات في الحديث اليومي العربي: مقاربة معرفية

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□ الملخّص □

يسلط هذا البحث الضوء على وفرة وجود عبارات الاستعارة في حديثنا اليومي. و استناداً إلى جورج لايكوف و مارك جونسن (1980) ندعي أن تعابير الاستعارة ليست قضية متعلقة بالكلمات و حسب بل هي جزء لا يتجزأ من الطريقة التي نعي بها الأشياء و نعقلها و أن الاستعارة ليست حكراً على اللغة الشعرية أو الأدبية. و نعطي أمثلة كثيرة لكي ندلل على أننا نستخدم القضايا المادية المحسوسة المتوفرة لدينا لكي نعي و نعقل الأفكار المجردة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: استعارة، مجال معرفي، يعقل، الاستعارة المعرفية، اللغة اليومية.

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Introduction:

Traditionally, metaphorical expressions have been viewed as characteristic of language as opposed to thought. They were taken to be seen in poetic literary style in contrast to day-to-day variety of language (Lakoff 1992: 417). Moreover, metaphors have been the subject of study for a long time in different intellectual disciplines and fields ranging from literary study, philosophy of language, psychology and linguistics, to mention just a few. In addition, the study of metaphor has been traced back to Aristotle's *Poetics* and *Rhetoric*. For a long time metaphor was seen as the exclusive field and territory of literary scholars (Ungerer & Schmid 1996: 114).

In this traditional view, metaphor is regarded as a linguistic incident which comes mainly in the sphere of poetic and figurative speech or discourse and it ascribes this very important happening to the rhetorical style employed in literature. Moreover, there is a stable and unambiguous concept of literal meaning and that there is a distinct demarcation between what is literal and the non-literal. In addition to that, this traditional look sees that the literal language is totally precise and transparent, while figurative literary discourse is imprecise and it is the main claim and field of poets and literature[1].

However, since 1979, a huge number of works have been written and doubted the traditional view concerning metaphorical language. The turning point in the metaphor research domain could be said to be marked by the publication of two seminal books, which revolutionized the view concerning metaphor from taking it to be a tool of literary imagination and rhetorical style (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:3) to a more cognitive view in which metaphor is seen as a phenomenon firmly rooted in our conceptual system and verbal behavior (Lakoff 1993:1). The first book is Ortony (1979) *Metaphor and Thought*, and the second one is Lakoff & Johnson (1980) *Metaphors We Live By.* One central idea within these works is that metaphor is rooted in day-to-day speech and that it is a device used in our daily discourse automatically and unconsciously to the extent it goes sometimes unnoticed.

Metaphor: a Traditional View

The traditional view concerning metaphor has certain assumptions, the first of which is that metaphors, like all other rhetorical tools, are deviation from literal language and day-to-day speech and they are alien to semantics proper or direct literal meaning (Fauconnier 1994: 1). This view, or false view, can be ascribed to the false assumption that "all everyday conventional language is literal, and none is metaphoric" (Lakoff 1993:2).

The other presupposition on part of the traditional studies is that metaphors are only a matter of the lexicon; that is, the use of words. This assumption can be attributed to the view that "all subject matter can be comprehended literally without metaphor" (Lakoff 1993:2). We can see the use of expressions such as قلبو أبيض "his heart is white" and كذبه بيضه "a white lie" in which the use of the word أبيض means "honest and harmless" respectively. We may also see the expression أحمد تور شغل "Ahmad is an ox at work" which means "Ahmad is a very patient and hard worker". And we also notice the expression أحمد خنزير درا "Ahmad is a maize pig" which means "Ahmad is a very dirty vandalizing person".

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[1] For more details see Malmkjar &. Anderson (1996:308ff), Abrahams (1957: 66ff) and Evans & Green (2006:292ff).

The traditional view will take these examples to be a matter of only language where the literal words are substituted with the metaphorical ones. A more deep and interesting metaphor used in Latakia is when one says هالخنزره ما شفناها من قبل "*we have not seen this type of pigness*[2] *before*" referring to a very cunning and vandalizing person.

Moreover, in the traditional theory of metaphor, we have concentration on the law of transference of qualities from one subject to another: from the vehicle to the tenor (Richards 1936, cited in Arseneault 2005: 42)[3]. For example, metaphor is defined by Aristotle as "giving the thing a name belonging to something else, the transference being…on the grounds of analogy" (cited in Coulson 2005:32). In the expression أحمد خنزير درا "Ahmad is a maize pig", the vehicle خنزير "pig" is used in place of "a very dirty vandalizing person". On the traditional view, metaphor is seen as "a novel or poetic linguistic expression where one or more words for a concept are used outside of its normal conventional meaning to express a *similar* concept" (Lakoff 1993: 1).

The Cognitive Theory of Metaphor

In contrast to the traditional view of metaphor as a literary device used mainly in the literary works and poetic style or language, cognitive researchers such as Lakoff & Johnson (1980), Lakoff (1993), Sweetser (1990) and Turner (1989) see that the metaphor is a pervasive phenomenon in day-to-day communication and that it represents a conceptual process output which helps us understand one domain in terms of another (Coulson 2005: 32ff) and (Taylor 2005: 569ff). Cognitive linguists claim that the proper place of metaphor is in our cognitive system, where it plays an important role in characterizing the structure of abstract concepts, making us understand abstract concepts via more concrete ones(Lakoff 1992: 417). Moreover, metaphor is defined as reference to one domain using words more commonly associated with another one. And each metaphor is seen as a structural mapping from one domain onto another. In other words, metaphor is seen not simply as a stylistic device or feature of speech but that our thought is basically metaphorical in essence (Lakoff 1993:5-6) and (Evans & Green 2006: 286ff).

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), our thoughts are shaped and framed by metaphor. In other words, the main claim of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) is that metaphor is a transfer between two conceptual domains or subject areas: that is, the source and the target[4]. For example, quantity is interpreted metaphorically via verticality; *more is up* and *less is down.* For instance, *prices rise or they may fall or even hit the bottom too* (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 185)[5]. In these examples, verticality is the source domain, and quantity is the target domain. So, here the metaphor is mapping from verticality onto quantity (Lakoff 1993: 9).

The Importance and Purpose of This Research Paper

We may claim that this is new in the sense that it studies day-to-day metaphoric expressions from a cognitive perspective. Moreover, we try, along the line of Lakoff and Johnson (1980), to prove that metaphors are not restricted to poetic literary style or rhetoric. The study highlights the pervasiveness of metaphor expressions in day-to-day speech. Our examples are taken from Lattakia speech community of which the researcher of this present paper is a member himself.

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[2] That is pig-like acts reflected in first eating to the full and then destroying what remains of the maize field, which is reflected in our famous expression كيف بدا تتعرف الخنزره "how will one recognize bad acts?"

[3] See also Black (2005: 13).

[4] Lakoff 1993:4-5

[5] See also Lakoff 1992: 417

Data and explication

1. Time

Time is conceptualized in terms of space. In other words, the concept of time is understood via things, such as entities, location and motion as well, as the following day-to-day examples in table-1 may show:

Table-1

Arabic	English translation
إجا وقت الجد	the time of seriousness **has come**
طار الوقت	time **flied**
وقف الوقت	time **stopped**
رمضان **جاي** بكير	Ramadan has ***come early***
مر تشرين بسرعه	October **passed fast**
راح آذار	March **went away**
طولت هالسنه	this year lasted long/ it **stayed** long
العام اللي مرق	the year that **passed**
العام **الجاي**	the year **coming**
أيلول **صار** عاللبواب	September has **reached the doorsteps**
قرب تشرين	October is **approaching** nearer
تأخر الوقت	Time ***is late***
مرق آذار وما حسينا فيه	March ***passed by us*** and we did not feel that
جايك مستقبل منيح	A very good future will come to you
دقَّر أيلول	September stopped

We may notice that the use of the expressions **إجا** “came”, مر “passed by”, **طولت** “stayed for long”, **الجاي** “the coming”, قرب “came near” and the like are all used with time expressions and the metaphor ***time passing-is-motion*** can account for them all.

1.1 Times are Locations

Times can also be ***fixed locations*** and ***we are moving with respect to them***, as in the following day-to-day time expressions in table-2:

Table-2

Arabic	**English translation**
المستقبل **ناطركم**	The future is **waiting** for you
قربنا من رمضان	We are getting nearer to Ramadan
قربنا من الامتحان	We are **getting nearer** to the exam
صار ع **بواب** أيلول	He reached the ***doors of September***

صرنا ع ***حدود*** أيلول	we reached the **boundaries** ***of September***
صرنا ع **تخوم** التسعين	we ***reached the*** **frontiers** ***of ninety***
وصل ع التسعين	He ***reached at ninety***
صرنا ع **عتاب** أيلول	we reached the ***doorsteps of September***
طلع فوق التسعين	He ***stepped over ninety***
نط فوق التسعين	He *jumped* over ***ninety***
نط التسعين	He *jumped* over ***ninety***
صار **حوالي** التسعين	He is near by ***ninety***
لحق التسعين	He ***caught up with ninety***
طف التسعين	He **stretched** into ***ninety***
قحص التسعين	He ***jumped over ninety***
قطع التسعين	He **passed by** ninety
دعس فوق التسعين	He stepped over ninety[6]
وصل التسعين و دعس	He reached ninety and he is still accelerating
العمر إلو حدود	Age has limits

Moreover, ***time is personified***. It can teach us, it can wake us up. It can also break our backs or smile and laugh too ***and it can be measured*** too. Moreover, it can be possessed, won, lost or ***collected and eaten and even cut*** as in the following examples in table-3

Table-3

Arabic	English
بكرا الزمن **بيعلمو**	Later on time will **teach** him
بكرا الزمن **بيفيقو**	Later on time will **awake** him
هالشهر **كسر** لي ضهري	This month **broke** my back
ضحكلو الزمن	Time **laughed** to him
ما **بقي** من العمر **أكثر مللي مرق**	What ***remains*** of life is not more than what is ***passed***
شباط **قصير**	February is *short*
هالسنه **ألف سنه**	This year is a thousand years
عندو تسعين سنه	He ***has*** ninety years
طبّق التسعين	He ***made ninety layers of years***
روّح سنه	He **let one year go**
ربح سنه	He **won** one year
خسر سنه	He ***lost one*** year

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[6] This expression is taken from driving where one can accelerate the car by stepping on the accelerator.

ضيع سنه	He lost one year
موّت سنه	He ***killed one*** year
فوت عليه سنه	He let one year elapse
أكل عمرو	He **ate** his life
خلص عمرو	He finished his own life
أكل عمرو و عمر غيرو	He **ate** his life and the life of others
عم **بيقطع** وقت	He is passing time
كيف **مرقت** الوقت	How did you pass time

We may note that the metaphor *time-is-Entity* can account for the expressions in table-3. Notice the use of the expression أكل عمرو "he ate his years". As if we have *canned* our years and we eat them day after day. This is why we also say عطاه الله عمر جديد"God gave him a new life" and we eat it afresh until we finish it too.

2 Argument is War

Our speech and verbal discourse can be conceptualized as a kind of conflict, as the following expressions in Table-4 may illustrate:

Table-4

Arabic	English translation
ما فيك **تدافع** عن موقفك	You cannot **defend** your position
نسف كل حكيو	He **exploded** his own speech
ما **بتقدر** عليه بالحكي	you cannot **overpower** him with speech
ما فيك تهزمو ابداً	You cannot **defeat** him
حكيو بمحللو	His speech is in **its right position**
حكيو **صاب** عين الحقيقه	His speech **hit the eye of truth**
حكيو قوي	His speech is **strong**
حجتو قويه	His argument is **powerful**
تبتو	He **fixed** him
كتفو	He twisted his opponent's shoulder back
دبحو	He **slaughtered** him
دبحو بالسليطه	He **slaughtered him with a granite stone**
حلقلو برم	He cut the opponent's hair round
كبسو	He pressed him hard
صدو	He parried the blow
كسرو	He broke him

He **killed** him	قتلو
It came to him a **knockdown**	إجيتو قاضيه
He put the opponent’s **face in dust**	مرغو
He took him by **the teeth and hands**	ملخو
He **killed** him	صرعو
He made him **faint**	دوخو
He fixed him **with a rope**	ربطو
He made him **small pieces**	نتفو
He slaughtered him	حزكو
He made his opponent’s **teeth fall down**	هرلو سنينو
He took the **teeth with a pliers**	كلخو
He **blocked** him	كربجو
He made **stand on one leg**	وقفو ع إجر وحده
He made him **small pieces of bread**	روحو فته
He made him **pellets**	سواه زحيلوطات
He **pressed and rubbed** him like rubbing a flea	فركو فرك البرغوط
He **grilled** him	شواه
He **skinned** him	سلخو
He **plucked his hair**	نتفو لشعرو
He took him by the jaws	مسكو من حنكو
He made him **ride the donkey up side down**	ركبو الجحشه بالمقلوب
He tied the leash	شدلو الرسن
He **reined** him	لجمو
He made him fall forcefully at the mouth	جابو كب ع بوزو
He wrapped the rope on him and knotted it too	لفلو المرسي و عقدا
He made knots around him	عقدو
He did not **let him go**	ما كان يفلتو
He **grounded** him	طحنو
He **kneaded** him	عجنو
He **overcooked** him	هلسو
He **steamed** him	هبلاو
He **hit** him too hard with a stick	نبرو

نفضو	He hit him hard to take dust out of him
فوتو بالحيط	He made him enter into the wall
حصرو	He **surrounded** him
عصرو	He **squeezed** him
شدلو اللجمه	He dragged the rein
بطحو	He **threw him down**
هزمو	He **defeated** him
ربح عليه	He **won** over him
ردلو	He **hit** him back
ما تركلو	He did not let the rope get longer
حرقو	He **burnt** him
نشرو	He **sawed** him
سواه قمله	He **made him a louse**
سواه مساحه	He made him **a dirty mat**
سواه بالأرض	He **flattened him with earth**
مرغو بالتراب	He rolled him in dust
عركو	He battled him down
لوا دراعو	He **twisted** his arm
كسحو	He took off his big branches
رقو	He **flattened** him
شحورو	He made him **black**
ورمو	He **caused him to swell**
اشتبكو	They **got into the fight**
كسر قرنو	He **broke his opponent's horn**
بندو	He **fixed** him with **nails**
قرفو[7]	He arm-wrestled him down
	He broke his opponent's hand

Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 20ff) state that we do not just speak about arguments in terms of war but we really *win* and *lose* arguments. Moreover we consider the person in the argument with us an opponent and we attack his position, we defend ours. And many of the things we do in an argument are structured by the concept of war or conflict, fighting, wrestling and boxing too. They claim that even though we have no physical battle, we have a verbal one and the structure of arguments shows this: the attack, defense, counter-attack, injury, pain, punishment, humiliation or even destruction "It is in this sense that the *argument is war* metaphor is one that we live by ….; it structures the actions we perform in arguing".[8]. The above expression in table-4 may confirm this idea. And we may also *defend* our idea with the following expressions in Table-5 in reference to speech and arguments, where they are referred to as having weapon-effect:

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[7] The public poetry competition is known as مكساره or مقارفة"arm-wrestling"

Table-5

Arabic	English translation
حكيو ضرب ع الراس	His speech is hitting on the head
حكيو صدمني	His speech shocked/ blew me
حكيو فلقني	His speech split me
حكيو هزني	His speech shook me
حكيو فقعني	His speech exploded me
موتني	His speech killed me
طققني	His speech exploded me
آلمني	His speech caused pain
فطسني	His speech muffled me
قهرني	He conquered me
حكيو دج	His speech is striking
حكيو مدافع	His speech is guns
حكيو نبر	His speech is club-hitting
حكيو خبط	His speech is beating up
حكيو هبر	His speech is hitting
حكيو طخ	His speech is gun-shooting
حكيو قاسي	His speech is hard
ماسك معو	He is holding with him
شادد معو	He is pulling with him
واقف معو	He is lining up with him
صافف معو	He is standing on the same line
هو يدك و انت بتقوس	He loads the gun and you fire
حشكو	He cornered him

The metaphor *argument-is-war* can be taken as one instance for how a metaphorical concept frames our acts and structures our understanding of what we do in arguments. The claim on part of Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 9) is that "the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another". Moreover, argument and wars are two different kinds of objects; one is verbal act and the other is conflict using arms. However, arguments are framed with reference to war. Hence the concept and the activity are metaphorically framed Lakoff and Johnson (1980: ibid). We may also notice that the language of arguments is neither poetically ornamental nor is it literary. In this respect, Lakoff and Johnson (1980:10) observe that we talk about arguments in the way we do because we behave in accordance with how we really conceptualize things.

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[8] Cf Lakoff and Johnson (1980:9)

3. Ideas and Speech are Food and Commodities

When we refer to ideas or speech we use expressions such as the ones in table-6. We use expressions referring to food to talk about ideas and speech:

Table-6

Arabic	English translation
أفكارو حلوه	His ideas are sweet
أفكارو لذيذه	His ideas are tasty
أفكارو بلا طعمه	His ideas are without taste
أفكارو خمه	His ideas are stale
أفكارو محمضه	His ideas are soar
كل قصصو بايته	All his stories are stale
حديثو ناشف	His speech is dry. It has no oil
حط الموضوع عا نار هاديه	He put the subject on quiet fire
كلامو فقوع	His speech is unripe green figs
كلامو بطيخ مبسمر	His speech is bad quality melon
كلامو حد	His speech is hot
كلامو فج	His speech is green/ hard/ unripe
كلامو معلب	His speech is tinned
كلامو فاضي	His speech is empty (like empty nuts)
شامم بحكيك ريحا موطيبه	I smell bad smell in your words
هالموضوع مدهن	This subject is fatty/ greasy
موضوع دسم	This subject is oily
أكل الكتب أكل	He ate the books
سلق الموضوع سلق	He boiled the subject
كلامو ما بينهضم	His speech cannot be digested
احكي دغري و بلا تبهير	Talk straight with no spices
حكيو بطيب الخاطر	His speech flavors the soul
شو قاعدين عم تطبخو	What are you cooking
كلامو ما لو قيمه	His speech has no value

ما بشتري كلامو بفرنك	I do not buy his speech for a coin
ما بشيل حكيو من أرضو	I do not take his speech from his land
كلامو ما بينزل ع الأرض	His speech does not come down on the ground
زبدة الموضوع	The butter of the subject

4. Seeing is Touching and Eyes are Limbs[9]

Table-7 shows some of the expressions we use to express sight.

Table-7

Arabic	English translation
ما شال عينو عني	He did not lift his eyes off me
ملزق عيونو علي	He stuck his eyes on me
صايبتو عين	An eye hit him
طرقيتو عين	An eye struck him
أكلني بعيونو	He ate me with his eyes
حط عينو عليها	He put his eyes on her

5 States and Changes are Locations[10]

We use expression such as in the following table:

Table-8

Arabic	English translation
وقع بالحب	He fell in love
وقع بمشكله	He fell in a problem
طلع من ازمه	He came out of a problem
نزل بمشكله	He went down into a problem
دخلنا بمشكله جديده	We entered into a new problem
علق بالمشاكل	He got stuck in problems

6 Difficulties are Impediments to Motion

These can be blockages, burdens, counterforces or lack of energy, as in table-9. They can be like commodities you buy, throw away, or search up for:

Table-9

Arabic	English translation
الهم كسر ضهرو	Worry broke his back
الهم شيبو	Worry made his hair grey
الهم بيسقي سم	Worry brings you poison to drink
خلص كازو	His oil (petrol) finished

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[9] Cf. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:39)

[10] Ibid:180

حامل هم الدني	He is carrying worry on his shoulders
أخرنا الامتحان	The exam made us late
لاحق المشاكل	He is walking behind troubles
مدور ع المشاكل	He is searching for troubles
بيشتري المشاكل	He buys troubles
بيشتري الهم مشترى	He buys worries
أكل هم	He is eating worries
عاتل هم	He is carrying worries
داير ع الفقر	He is looking for poverty
داير ع البهدله	He is searching for humiliation
داير ع اللعن	He is searching for abuse
رفس النعمه	He kicked bounties

7 Lack of Purpose is Lack of Direction

Table-10

Arabic	English
عم بيحوم حوال الموضوع	He is just floating around
عم بيعفس	He is drifting aimlessly
متيس و ماشي	He is bull-like walking
مضيع كر خالتو	He has lost the donkey of his aunt

8 Trying to Achieve a Purpose is Hunting

Table-11

Arabic	**English**
عم بيكيوز ع الوظيفه	He is aiming at the job
منيشن عليها	He is aiming at it
قنص الفرصه قنص	He hunted the opportunity
كان صالي طافوحا	He made a bird-trap for it

In addition to the abundant examples we have already given, let's notice the set of words denoting body parts and some other sets denoting environmental objects to show the pervasiveness of metaphor in day-to-day language, as in table-12:

Table-12

Arabic		English
راس	راس الجبل	Head of the mountain
	راس البيت	Head of the house
	راس العيله	Head of the family

Head of the page	راس الصفحه	
Head of the trouble	راس الفتنه	
Head of the problem	راس المشكله	
Head of the tent	راس الخيمه	
Head of the spring	راس النبع	
Head of the pen	راس القلم	
Head of the hair	راس الشعره	
Head of the spear	راس الحربه	
Head of the knife	راس السكين	
Head of the needle	راس الابره	
Head of the tongue	راس اللسان	
Head of the tree	راس الشجره	
Heart of the pen	قلب القلم	قلب
Heart of the melon	قلب الجبسه	
Heart of the subject	قلب الموضوع	
Heart of the wheel	قلب الدولاب	
Heart of the book	قالب الكتاب	
Eye of the brain	عين العقل	عين
Eye of the opinion	عين الرأي	
Eye of the spring	عين المي	
Eye of the needle	عين الأبره	
Eye of the sun	عين الشمس	
Face of the paper	وجه الورقه	وجه
Face of the box	وجه السحاره	
Face of the gun	وج الباروده	
Face of the truth	وج الحقيقه	
Back of his hand	قفا أيدو	قفا
Back of the house	قفا البيت	
Back of the tin	قفا العلبه	
Back of the paper	قفا الورقه	
Back of the frying pan	قفا التقلايه	
Back of the head	قفا الراس	

جلد	جلدة الكتاب	Skin of the book
تم	تم المدفع	Mouth of the gun
	تم الجره	Mouth of the jar
	تم الحاره	Mouth of the locality
	تم الكاسه	Mouth of the cup
	تم البلوعه	Mouth of the sink
	تم الوادي	Mouth of the valley
إجر	إجر الكرسه	Leg of the chair
	إجر الطاوله	Leg of the table
ديل	ديل الورقه	Tail of the paper
	ديال الشجره	Tails of the tree
كعب	كعب الوادي	Heel of the valley
	كعب الدست	Heel of the big cooking pot
	كعب الفنجان	Heel of the cup
	كعب الصبات	Heel of the shoe
	كعب المسدس	Heel of the gun
بومه	واحد بومه	He is an owl
أرنب	واحد أرنب	He is a rabbet
قط	قط بسبع رواح	He is a cat with seven lives
حيه	حيه من تحت التبن	He is a snake in the hay

We may look at some of the metaphorical expressions we have in table-12 to illustrate the point further that metaphor is part of a bigger way of conceptualization. Let's take the metaphor *paper-is-a body*. The paper has وجه "face" قفا "back", راس "head, and ديل "tail". So, this metaphor explains our use of the expressions involving these words . Out of this cognitive metaphor we get lots of metaphorical expressions based on it and used in our day-to-day discourse: they are not simply a matter of language alone but our way of conceptualizing the world around us. In the metaphor *paper-is-a body,* the paper is the target and the body is the source. Applying the same analysis, we can explain the other examples and similar ones as well.

Another metaphorical expression is the use of the word راس in راس العيله "the head of the family", "the breadwinner", "and the chief decision maker". The conceptual metaphor may be taken as a mapping from *body* onto *family* and according to Lakoff (1993:5) this mapping is a set of ontological correspondences by mapping knowledge about the structure of a family onto knowledge about the body structure. In this case *family* is the target domain and *body* is the source domain. In other words, the correspondence between the category *body* and the category *family* is that the body has the head as the most significant part; hence the father is the head or the most important member. This metaphor is not only language but it also reflects our world view at a certain time.

9. Examination is Farming and Racing or Sliding

Let’s consider one of the most common topics in our society: studying and the examination, and see the expressions we use to talk about it, as in table-13:

Table-13

Arabic	English
كيف ***الدرس***	How is your study
الدرس منيح/ **مليح**	the study is very good
بيدرس بس ما في **خواص**	He studies but gets no result
رحنا **عالفحص**	We went to the examination
سقط بالفحص	He failed in the exam
عفس بالفحص	He did very bad in the exam
فحصونا بالعربي	We were examined in Arabic
سبقت كل رفقاتي	He is the top student
حطيت كل رفقاتي **وراي**	I am the top student
جمع علامات منيحة	He got very good marks
ضربونا بالفحص	The questions were very difficult
ما خلونا ننقل شي	We were not allowed to copy
جاب تسعين بالنقد	He got ninety marks
كسح كل رفاقو	He is in the first place
فلّى الكتاب	He scrutinizes the book
حفظ الدرس	He memorized the lesson
فلح بالدرس	He did very well in his study

We may notice the metaphor *exam-is- farming, racing and sliding* may account for the expressions we have in table-12, as in the name of the exam itself is فحص which means literally “sliding”. This is why we use سقط “fell down” or “slip” and سبق “get ahead of” or outdistanced”. We also use farming terms like الدرس “thrashing” to mean “the exam” and we نكسح الكل “we trim all the people in the field, as if they were trees” [11]. In other words, the source domain is farming and racing and the target domain is the exam: we thrash the wheat, we collect the seeds, we run, slide, slip, fall, be hit and we carry flags.

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[11] The expression يكسح is used to refer to the act of cutting the branches of olive trees after collecting the olive fruits.

Limitations of the Work

We have not exhausted the whole topic and the day-to-day metaphorical expressions we use. That is because of space limits. For this reason we keep that for further research and investigation.

Conclusion and Results

The aim of this paper is to show the pervasiveness of metaphorical expressions we use in our day-to day interaction and speech, which show that metaphor is not only restricted to the poetic literary style. Moreover, the background for this approach is Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Lakoff (1993). The following results and observations may be noticed:

1. Metaphorical language is the superficial reflection of our conceptual system.
2. Metaphors help us comprehend abstract domains in terms of more concrete ones.
3. Metaphors are mappings from one cognitive domain onto another: From the source domain onto the target one.
4. The examples mentioned above are a few of their like, but they show the pervasiveness of metaphorical expression in our daily speech to the extent it is sometime not easy to recognize them

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